

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 11628

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF JULY 27, 1978
(SALT TWO-1823)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 27, 1978

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO EXPRESS A NUMBER
OF CONSIDERATIONS ON ARTICLE XVI OF THE DRAFT TREATY--ON
ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF PLANNED ICBM LAUNCHES.

- I

THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING IN THE DRAFT TREATY BEING
PREPARED PROVISIONS ON NOTIFICATION OF PLANNED ICBM
LAUNCHES WAS RAISED SOME TIME AGO AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE
U.S. SIDE. THE SOVIET SIDE ACCEPTED THAT, CONSIDERING THE
INTEREST DISPLAYED BY THE U.S. SIDE, AND IN ORDER TO
INCREASE CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE TWO STATES.

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THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT AS OF JULY 6, 1978 REFLECTS THE
DEGREE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ACHIEVED REGARDING NOTIFICA-
TION OF PLANNED ICBM LAUNCHES BEYOND NATIONAL TERRITORY.
THIS IS REFERRED TO IN THE AGREED FIRST COMMON UNDERSTAND-
ING TO PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE XVI OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

AS FOR ICBM LAUNCHES WITHIN NATIONAL TERRITORY, THE

SOVIET SIDE'S APPROACH, BASED ON PRINCIPLE, IS THAT APPROPRIATE NOTIFICATION COULD BE PROVIDED BY A SIDE WHEN SUCH ICBM LAUNCHES MIGHT, IN ITS VIEW, BE MISINTERPRETED AND GIVE RISE TO CONCERN OF THE OTHER SIDE. AND THIS IS QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE SINCE, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, AS INITIALLY PRESENTED, ARTICLE XVI OF THE DRAFT TREATY MUST BE AIMED AT ELIMINATING PRECISELY SUCH CONCERNS.

WITH RESPECT TO ICBM LAUNCHES WITHIN NATIONAL TERRITORY, BY NOW THE SIDES HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON NOTIFICATION OF PLANNED MULTIPLE LAUNCHES, FROM TEST RANGES AS WELL AS FROM ICBM LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT AREAS.

THERE IS ALSO AGREEMENT NOT TO PROVIDE NOTIFICATION OF SINGLE LAUNCHES FROM TEST RANGES.

THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THAT THE SAME THING MUST ALSO BE PROVIDED FOR WITH RESPECT TO SINGLE LAUNCHES WITHIN NATIONAL TERRITORY FROM ICBM LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT AREAS, SINCE SUCH LAUNCHES, TOO, CANNOT GIVE RISE TO CONCERN OF THE OTHER SIDE; THIS IS CONFIRMED BY EXPERIENCE GATHERED OVER THE PAST YEARS.

THE SOVIET SIDE HAS PROPOSED TO REFLECT IN A COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT A MULTIPLE ICBM LAUNCH, I.E., A LAUNCH, ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF WHICH WILL BE PROVIDED ON A
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CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, AS DISTINCT FROM THE SINGLE ICBM LAUNCHES REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE XVI, IS A LAUNCH OF TWO OR MORE ICBMS FROM ONE TEST RANGE OR FROM ONE ICBM LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT AREA WITHIN NO MORE THAN TEN MINUTES. AS WE HAVE INDICATED, THIS TIME IS QUITE SUFFICIENT FOR THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION OF THE OTHER SIDE TO DETERMINE THAT THE LAUNCH IS CARRIED OUT PRECISELY WITHIN NATIONAL TERRITORY AND THUS CANNOT BE THE SUBJECT OF CONCERN OF THE OTHER SIDE.

ALL THIS, TAKEN TOGETHER, AND CONSIDERING THE AGREED PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT NOTHING IN ARTICLE XVI IS INTENDED TO INHIBIT ADVANCE NOTIFICATION, ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, OF ANY ICBM LAUNCHES NOT SUBJECT TO ITS PROVISIONS, THE ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF WHICH WOULD ENHANCE CONFIDENCE, ENSURES THAT THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS ARTICLE OF THE DRAFT TREATY WILL BE MET.

OF COURSE, WE ALSO CANNOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT IN PRACTICE THE OBLIGATION ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF PLANNED ICBM LAUNCHES WITHIN NATIONAL TERRITORY WOULD AFFECT ONE SIDE ONLY, I.E., THE SOVIET UNION. CONSE-

QUENTLY, THIS IS AN OBLIGATION WHICH ONLY ONE SIDE WOULD
ASSUME, EXPRESSING ITS GOOD WILL, IN FACT WITHOUT ANY
ACTION BY THE OTHER SIDE.

- II

THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED HERE CONCERNING A ONE-
HOUR INTERVAL DO NOT PROVIDE A BASIS FOR AGREEMENT. SUCH
A TIME INTERVAL IS NOT MANDATED BY THE NATURE OF THE
OBLIGATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER ARTICLE XVI OF THE

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 11628

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DRAFT TREATY.

IT WOULD BE EQUALLY UNFOUNDED TO CONSIDER SINGLE
LAUNCHES CARRIED OUT FROM DIFFERENT TEST RANGES OR ICBM
LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT AREAS AS MULTIPLE LAUNCHES. IN
DEFINING A MULTIPLE LAUNCH, ASIDE FROM USING A TIME
CRITERION, SPECIFICALLY A 10-MINUTE CRITERION, WE ARE
REFERRING TO LAUNCHES CARRIED OUT FROM ONE TEST RANGE OR
FROM ONE ICBM LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT AREA.

AT THE JUNE 8, 1978 MEETING THE U.S. DELEGATION
STATED THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF COMPLETING WORK ON
ARTICLE XVI THE U.S. IS WILLING TO MODIFY THE TIME
CRITERION. HOWEVER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE ABOVE-NOTED
DIFFERENCES WITH RESPECT TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF A
MULTIPLE ICBM LAUNCH, IT IS DIFFICULT TO EXPRESS A VIEW

REGARDING THE CONTENT OF THAT PROPOSAL OF THE U.S. SIDE,
INASMUCH AS ITS MEANING REMAINS UNCLEAR.

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THE USSR DELEGATION TRUSTS THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS ON
ARTICLE XVI OF THE DRAFT TREATY, WHICH IT EXPRESSED
TODAY, WILL BE CAREFULLY STUDIED AND WILL MEET WITH THE
NECESSARY MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IN CONNECTION WITH THE
WORK OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS PROVISION, BEARING IN
MIND THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF THE DOCUMENT BEING NEGOTIATED.
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